ACTION:

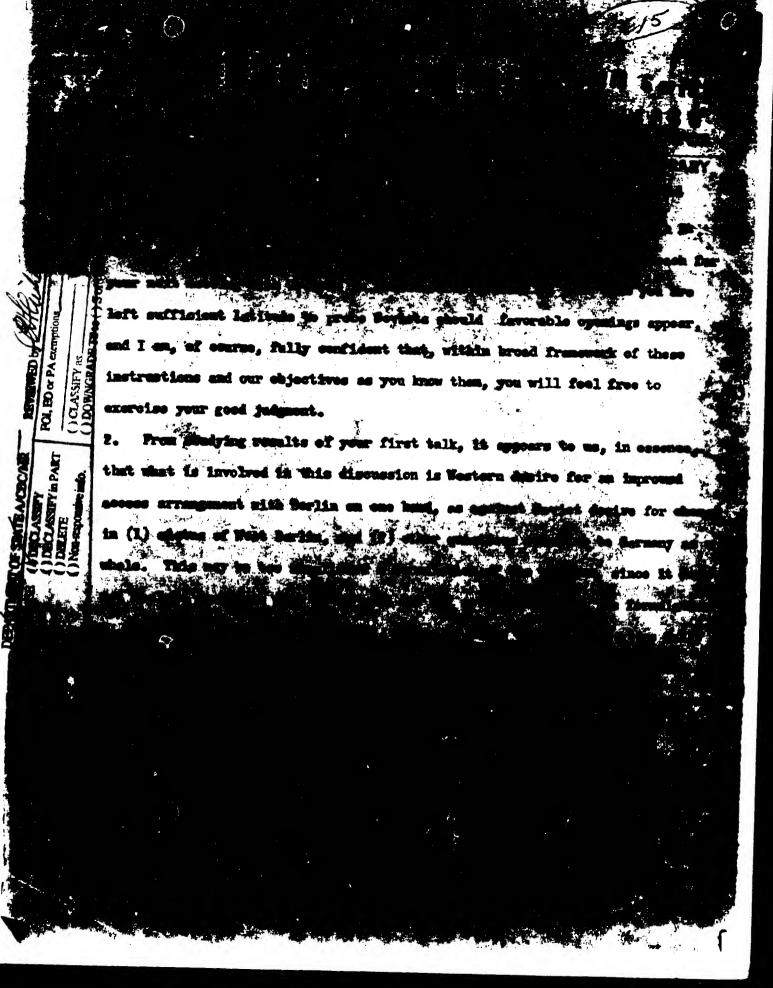
Amembassy MOSCOW - PRIORITY

EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

1. Separate cable containing your basic instructions as discussed with British and Germans and passed to French for information suggests line of approach for your next meeting with Gromyko in considerable detail. At same time you are

in these terms will help to clarify essence of these talks. As you are fully aware, we have no interest in any change in status of West Berlin and would not advance any of the questions affecting Germany as a whole. We are, however,

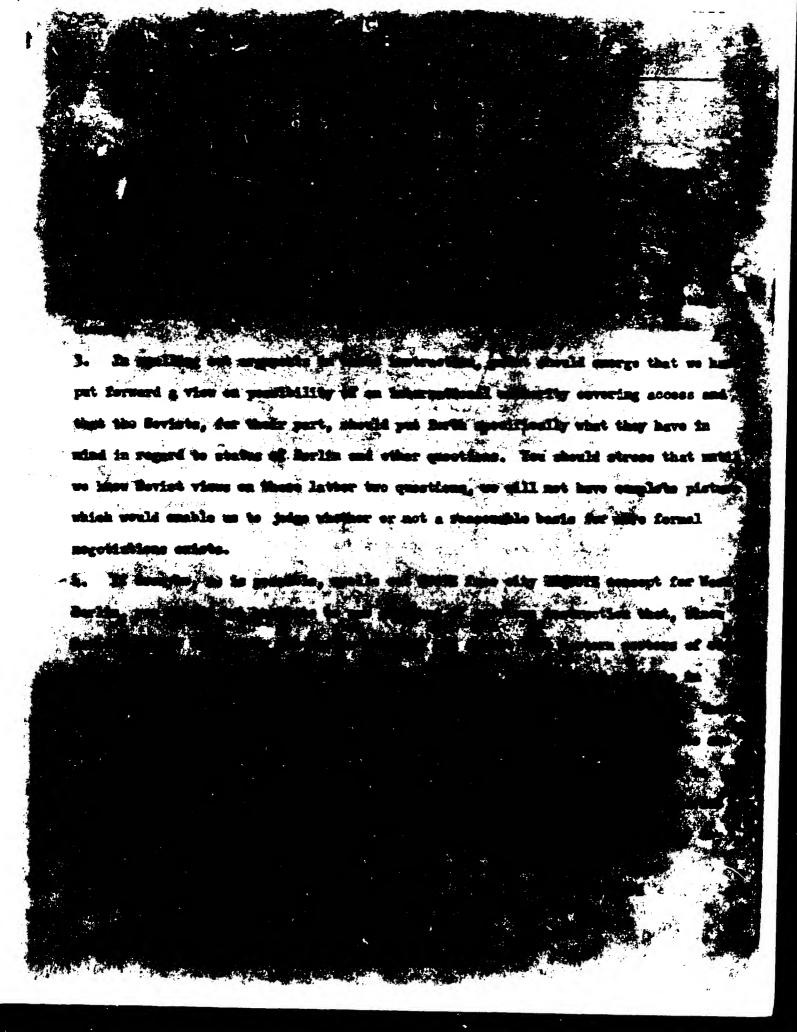
interested



interested in an improved access arrangement which would reinforce our position in Berlin and safeguard communications between West Berlin and West Germany, and we consider, therefore, that you should be prepared to express, without commitment, our views on improved access agreement, leaving, however, to Soviets to put forward their desiderata in regard to status of West Berlin and more general questions, affecting Germany.

are integral parts of GDR, this, in our view, deprives them of right to voice in future status of West Berlin. You might emphasize that in these circumstances, there would appear to be no need for any revision of existing status which, as Soviets are aware, is desired and fully supported by West Berlin population. Your purpose in this part of conversation would be to endeavor to obtain a full statement of Soviet position in regard to future of West Berlin without, however, entering into any detailed discussion of Soviet proposal.

5. In regard

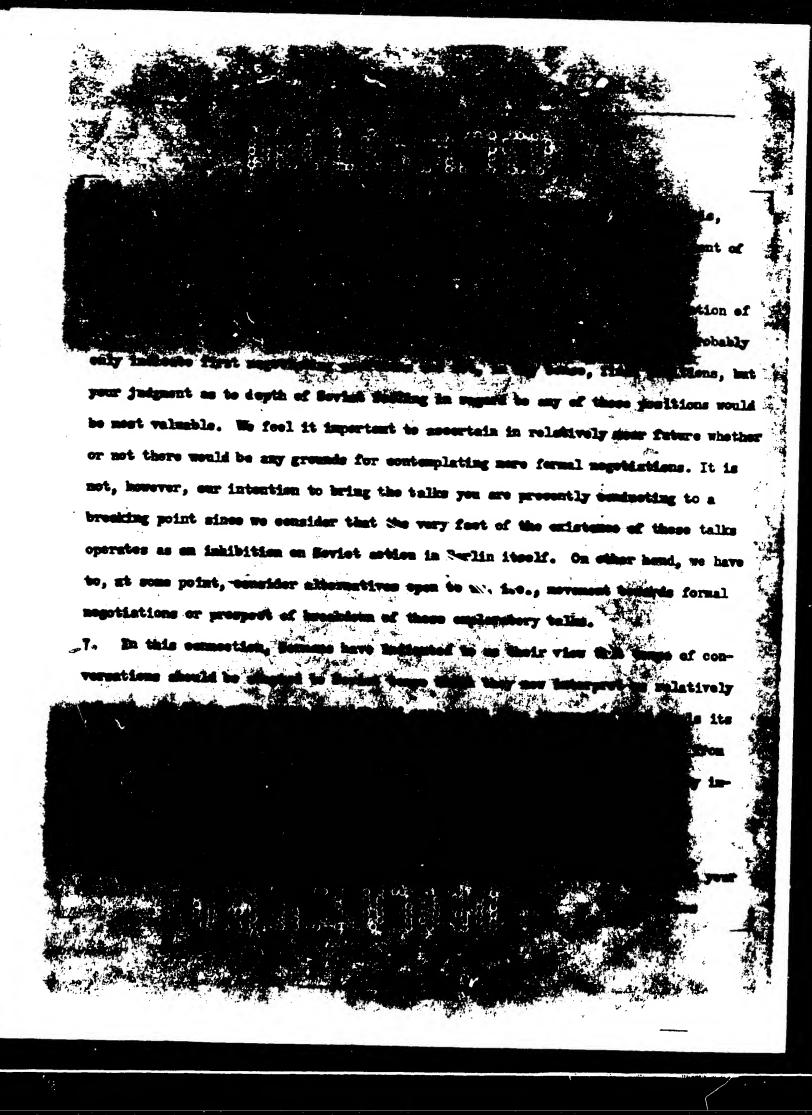


- 5. In regard to other questions, you should pursue identical tactics, that is, endeavor to obtain from Soviets without commitment on our part precise statement of what other questions affecting Germany as a whole Soviets desire to discuss.
- 6. What we would be after at this stage in talks would be some clear indication of totality of Soviet position. We recognize that at this stage Soviets would probably

relaxed. In their view, more accelerated pace might give impression West feels its position is weak. Our estimate of degree of Soviet urgency on Berlin differs from line which Germans are now spreading, but we certainly wish to avoid giving any impression of undue anxiety. I would appreciate having your impressions on this general point.

Our further comments on specific points in basic instructions or raised in your

cables

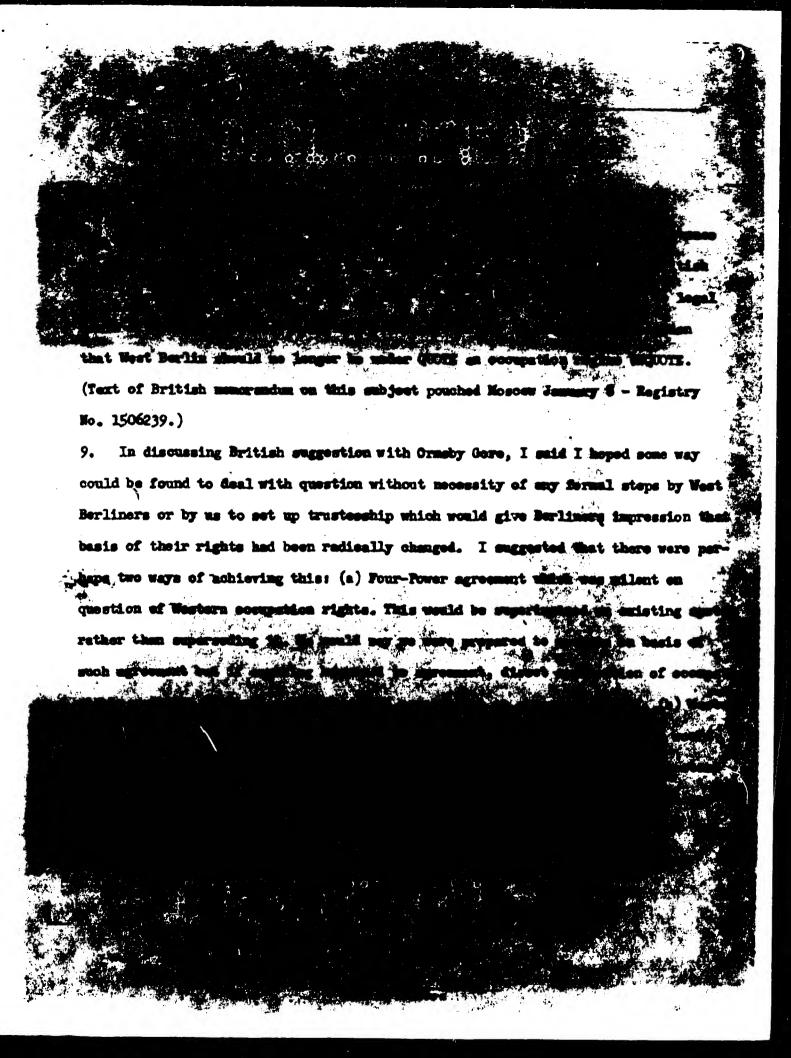


cables follow:

8. While we do not believe it desirable to go beyond language in final sentence of paragraph 7 of instruction at present time, you should be aware that British have raised with us possibility of finding formula which, without danger to legal basis of Western presence in Berlin, would go some way to meet Soviet position

rights would be restored. Soviets could concentrate on agreement itself. (b) Western Powers could themselves declare that they consider their position in Berlin would be based on more than occupation rights, and that they are holding Western sectors in trusteeship for German people and at desire of West Berliners. This would combine elements of trusteeship and self-determination.

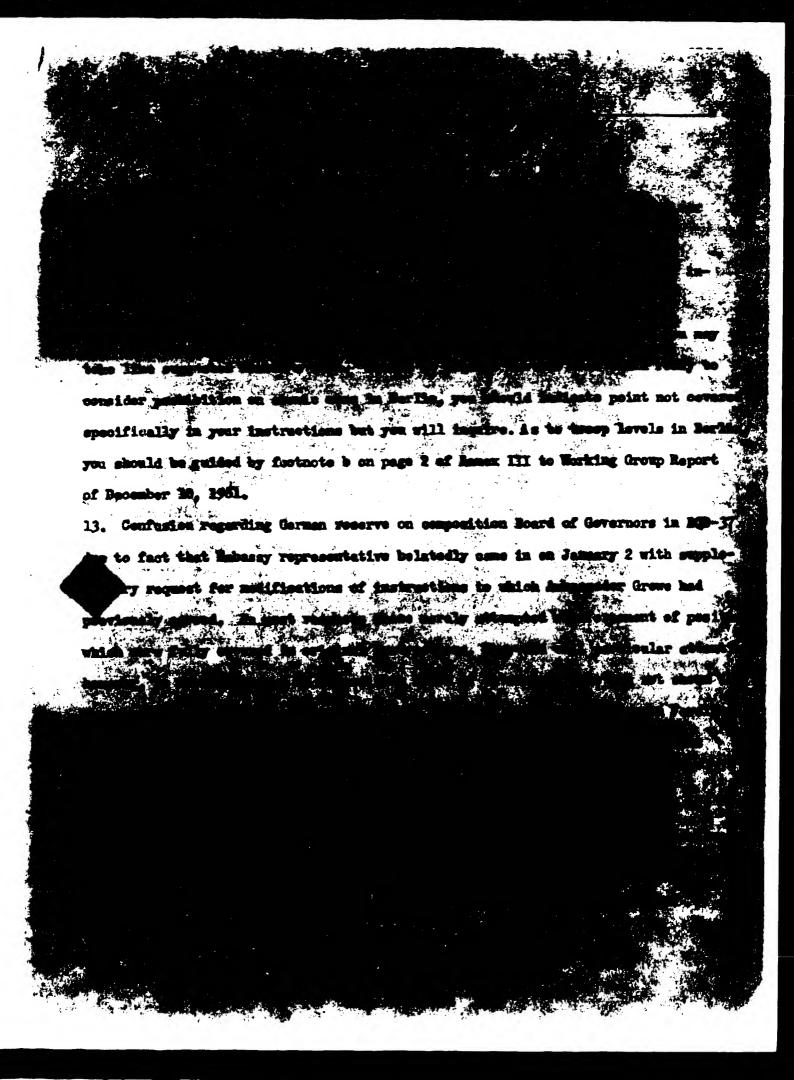
10. While final



- 10. While final sentence of paragraph 9 is, therefore, valid at this stage, we may wish at later point to consider interpreting it along lines I suggested.
- 11. On discussion of QUOTE broader questions UNQUOTE raised paragraph 14 of instructions, our basic position remains as set forth in DEPTEL 1523.
- 12. Should Gromyko raise question of QUOTE subversive activities UNQUOTE you may

November 3 document since reserve only made later and overlooked by German Foreign Office in sending instructions to Grewe on basis of which he concurred contents DEPTEL 1520.

14. Regarding your 1847, as you aware, bracketed language in subparagraph 3 of Article X of BQD-37 represents fallback position. Is it your judgment that failure to include this point in formal text when put forward as proposal would be determining factor



factor in Soviet acceptance or rejection? Regarding elimination of reference to military forces, believe it would be dangerous in light of our previous experience with Soviet interpretation of agreements not to mention this subject, but we are considering possible reformulations. Suggest that question need not be dealt with directly until specific draft agreement put forward.

for supreme authority held by Western Allies, this would, given nature of confederal system, mean giving East Berlin a veto respecting variety of matters of substantial and possibly vital importance to West Berlin. Alternative to this would be some form of wighted authority but this would seem amount to essentials of all-Berlin proposal which clearly unacceptable to Soviets.

16. Regarding your

Next for mot feel it meets are proposed out and a contract of the contract of

16. Regarding your 1906, no objection to modification of Gromyko quote along lines indicated. I am also giving consideration to questions raised your 1907. As you are aware, basic problem on Western side is finding formula which French would consider as constituting acceptable basis for negotiations.

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